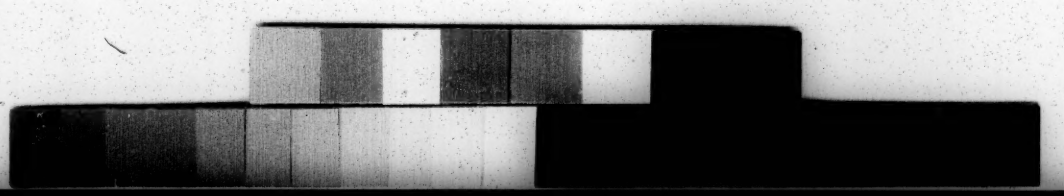
# AN ANSWER TO THE LATE DECLARATION OF SCOTLAND,

Concerning their present Second Expedition into

# ENGLAND.

Printed at *York* by *Stephen Bulkley*.
1643.



# To the Compiler or Compilers of the late *Declaration*, publiſhed in the name of the Kingdome of *Scotland*, concerning their preſent ſecond expedition into *England*, printed at *Edenburgh*, 1643.

## *The charitable requeſt of a loyall Subject, and a ſincere defender of the true reformed Proteſtant Religion, and of the liberties of the Parliaments, Lawes and Subjects of this Kingdome.*

I Doe highly allow of the *Propoſition* expreſſed in the *laſt lines* of the *ſeventh Page* of this *Declaration*: *In this caſe it is moſt neceſſary, that every one againſt all doubting, be perſwaded in his mind of the lawfulneſſe of his undertaking, and cauſe maintained by him.*

Upon which words, I ground my hearty requeſt, to the *Framer* of that *Declaration*, that ſince I find *no reaſons* expreſſed in the ſame to gaine my aſſent, to the concluſion aimed at in it, which is the *lawfulneſſe* of this their *ſecond expedition*, (it taking many things as ſuppoſed and granted, but proving none of them) he would be pleaſed to *declare* the *Reaſons* which might gaine from *him*, who hath beene borne and bred *a true reformed Proteſtant*, and beſides a Scholler all his life time, verſed in the Scrip-

tures, and the Expositors of them, from his very youth to his now old age, (though without so great proficiency as others) to assent to such *unsound propositions*, and so unlike to the *Doctrine* of the *Christian* and *reformed Religion*, for any thing that ever he could read in the holy Scriptures, or the Expositors of the same. And in the meane time, I desire that hee will weigh my reasons which keep me from yeelding my assent to such *new* and *strange Conclusions*, as I conceive them to be.

The *Declaration* beginneth, continueth, and endeth meerly with *Supposalls*, that such and such things are known to the Christian world, the contraries whereof *I suppose* are knowne to the Christian world, and therefore before these *supposalls* be granted, I shall lay downe some *propositions*, upon the arguing of which, the *supposalls* expressed in the *Declaration* will fall out either to be firm or frivolous: or if the things contained in the late *Covenant*, propounded by them of *Scotland*, and received and *sworne* by *many* in *England*, upon which this *Declaration* is grounded, fall out upon examination to be agreeable to the *Word of God*, and so obligatory of the *conscience*: I confesse that the *supposalls* ranked in the *Declaration* are to be admitted; but if they be found to be otherwise, or *against* the *Word of God*. I doubt not but the *Compiler* will likewise confesse, that they are not to be *supposed*, but *opposed*. I shall then joyne with him upon this issue, That if *Episcopall Government* be any wayes *Antichristian*, or (as it is a Government) a part of the *Antichristian Hierarchy*, or if it be *lawfull* for a *forraine Nation* to *compell* any *King*, where it is established by *Law*, by *force of armes* to abolish it: Or secondly, whether it be lawfull for his Majesties *Subjects* of *this* or *that Kingdome*, to take *armes* against *him* and *all* his *Subjects* who shall adhere to *him*, if he shall not give his consent to the *abolishing* of the same, or to all such other things as the *Subscribers* of this *Covenant* shall require of *him*, then I yeeld that the *Declaration* may be well grounded. But if it fall out, that there is no such thing in *Episcopall Government*, as is pretended, and that it is utterly against the *Word of God* to take *armes* upon that or any such pretence, without the *consent* of the *King*, then I hope it must be yeelded, that it is or ought to be knowne to the Christian world, that *all your proceedings*, as being against the

the *Word of God*, are not *lawfull Warres*, but *Seditious Rebellions*, and *Treasons*: and that therefore, whosoever shall be *killed* by you in this *Warre*, not being killed by lawfull authority, is *murdered*, and whosoever shall *dye* in the *warre* on your side, having *killed* one of His Majesties loyall subjects, is a *Murderer*, and if he shall *dye* without repentance, he shall *dye* in the state of *Damnation*: and if so, then whosoever *assisteth* you in this *unlawfull War*, doth not *come up to help the Lord*, but helpeth the *Divell* who was a *Murtherer from the beginning*; and that he who doe not assist you, doe not incurre the *curse* of *Meroz*, but gaineth the *blessing* of *God*, for not offering to *touch the Lords anointed*.

If these two Propositions being weighed in the ballance of the Sanctuary (which is the *word of God* hold weight, then no doubt I cannot be blamed for adhering to them. And for the triall of them, you and I, (I doubt not) shall agree upon a *common scale*, which both of us admit, that is, the *word of God*. For nothing but the *word of God* can oblige your *conscience* to enter into this *War*, and nothing but the *word of God* keepes mee from giving my *assent* to the lawfulnesse of it. There are some in the world (besides the Jesuits, who insist mainly on the *Popes* power *in ordine ad spiritualia*,) that will not admit the *word of God* to be the undoubted *Judge* of all such Controversies, as *Buchanan*, *Junius*, *Brutus*, and all other the *Monarcho-machi*, principally insisting upon the *Law of Nature*. But *that Law* they take in so vast & wild a notion, that otherwhiles they make it to be *repugnant* to the *word of God* which neither you nor I may at any hand permit.

The Point then will be no more nor lesse then this: If the *Two propositions* in question, can be found to be grounded any way upon the *word of God*, which hath onely power to bind the *Conscience*, whether that word be written in our hearts by the *Law of nature*, or in the writings of God penned by his *Prophets* and *Apostles*, or in the *Ecclesiasticall Lawes* of this Church, or in the *seeular lawes* of this kingdome of *England*, (to which if they be not repugnant to the *word of God* we are bound by the vertue and influence which the *word of God* giveth them to yeeld obedience,) I am then bound in *conscience* to yeeld my assent unto them, otherwise I am not. I shall therefore crave leave to propound those *Reasons* which my *conscience* dictateth unto me,

that the *Two propositions* urged upon us, are against the *word of God*, and therefore cannot bind my *conscience* to the obedience, but ties it to the disobedience of them.

1. The first Proposition upon which you ground this *Warre*, implyed in this *Declaration*, but more fully expressed in your *new Covenant*, and in all the *Printed papers* of both kingdomes which are set forth for your side, is for the *rooting* out of *Papists*, *Prelates*, and all *Prelaticall* and *Episcopall Government*, *Root* and *Branch*, as being a *part* constitutive of the *Roman* and *Antichristian Hierarchy*; if it be for the *rooting out* of all *Papists*, it will concerne you to do it in *other Kingdomes* when you have power, as well as in *this*. But the *Emperour*, *Kings* and *Princes* of that *party*, will hardly beleeve that you have any lawfull authority so to do. But for the *Episcopall Government*, begun and continued in the *Church* of *Christ* ever since there was any profession of the Christian Religion, and retained in *this Kingdome* by the firmnesse and stabilities of *Lawes* and *Acts of Parliament*, how you can be authorized to void the *perpetuall practice* of the Christian *Church*, and destroy the *fundamentall Lawes* of this *Kingdome*, it is the point in which my *conscience* desireth to be satisfied. Sure I am, if your *consciences* doe not bind you to it, your *Act* is *unlawfull*, and nothing can bind your *conscience* but the *word of God*. Now I desire that you would shew me any *one* passage in all the *word of God*, whereby it may appeare that *Episcopall Government* is a limb of *Antichristian Hierarchy*. I will not now enter into the *Question* whether it be *founded* and settled in the *word of God*, though for my owne particular perswasion I doe beleeve it is, and it hath been mainteyned so to be by as learned men, as any lived in the last age of the world; but this I doe averre, that if it be not *against* the *word of God*, and that the *word of God* hath left a *power* in the Church of Christ, to confirme and settle its *owne Government*, that then by the *word of God*, I am bound in *conscience* to receive and allow of that *Church Government*, which the Church hath enjoyned and received ever since there was a Christian Church; for the *word of God* ties my *conscience* to the obedience of Ecclesiasticall and Secular Lawes if they be not repugnant to the *word of God*. And truely for my part, besides the places of Scripture alledged by the *Writers* of our side, which

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move me thereunto, it cannot sink into my understanding, but that this *Government* must needs be settled by the *Apostles* at least, since from *their* times to *ours* it hath continued, and since we have never a *positive Law*, nor any *Canon* of a *Councell* for the *first* ordination and institution of it, yet all *Canons* and *Lawes* mentioning it, prescribing *Bishops Duties*, ordering and limiting their *Dioceses* and *Iurisdictions*, upon the emergencies of severall complaynts; what can I *conclude* from thence, but that the *Fathers* and *Christians* who lived next the *Apostles* times: nay, *some* of them before *Saint Iohn* the *Evangelist* dyed, did take it for a *Government* instituted at least by the blessed *Apostles* of our *Lord*.

But however, it is an unheard of, and an undegestible *proposition* to affirme, that *this Government* should be a member or limb of *Popish* and *Antichristian Hierarchy*, for if it were the *constant* and *continued Government* of the *Church* before that which is now *Popery* and *Romish Antichristianisme* was known in the world, how can it be a part of it? I am confident ye doe not joyne in opinion with those *ignorant men*, who hold that *whatsoever* is now maintained in the *Romish Church* as true *Popery*, was maintained by the *Church* of *Rome* of *old*. The *Romish* Church when *Saint Paul* wrote to it, did maintaine *that very Doctrine* which the *Protestant* reformed Churches do now maintaine, their *first Bishops* for the space of divers of the first hundred yeers, were as good *Protestants* as we are, and above *thirty* of their *first Bishops* dyed glorious *Martyrs*, in the defence of that *Truth* which *we* now professe: and they who doe not admit of this ground, lose one of the greatest *advantages* which wee this day have against the *Romish* party; for we say, That *they*, not *we*, have departed from the *Doctrine* which the pure and glorious *Church* of *Rome* professed, before it came to be any way *Antichristian*, and so wee lay the *Schisme* justly from *our owne* at *their* doore. Now in that time wherein the *Church* of *Rome* agreed with the now *Protestant Churches* and *Doctrine*, was this *Church Government* received, and continued amongst *them* and *all* the *Christian world* besides; and therefore I cannot but stand amazed to see how any Christian, especially if he be learned, and any way acquainted with the *History* of the *Church*, can harbour

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such a *horrible proposition* in his head and heart, That all those who since the dayes of the *Apostles* have exercised the office of a *Bishop*, as it is *distinct* from and *above* the office of *Presbyters*, ought to be branded with the *hellish* name of *limbes* and *members of Antichrist*.

For have I not reason to thinke that I am falne into the *dregs* of time and to have lived too long to heare those *three hundred and eighteene Bishops* assembled in the Councell of *Nice* by great and godly *Constantine*, and who were the Authors and Compilers of that *Nicene Creed*, which daily we say and sing in our Churches, and did confound (as the glorious Champions of Christ) that great and infamous limb of *Antichrist*, *Arrius*, now themselves to be stiled by that *hellish* name, by reason of their *office*? That the *hundred and fifty Bishops* assembled at *Constantinople*, in the second generall Councell by *Valentinian* and *Theodosius*, who (as the glorious Champions of Christ) cut off other two great limbes of *Antichrist*, *Eunomius*, and *Macedonius*, should now by reason of their *office* be called themselves by that *wretched* name? That the *two hundred Bishops* assembled together at *Ephesus*, in the third Generall Councell by *Theodosius the younger*, who (as the valiant Champions of Christ) did lop off another great limb of *Antichrist*, *Nestorius*, should now themselves by reason of their *office* be called by that *unsufferable* name. That the *six hundred and thirty Bishops*, assembled at *Chalcedon*, in the fourth Generall Councell by *Martian*, and who rooted out two great limbes of *Antichrist*, *Eutiches*, and *Dioscorus*, should now by reason of their *office* be called by such an *impious* name? since the *whole Church of Christ*, next the *Doctrine* of the *Evangelists* and *Apostles*, have with admirable consent received *their Doctrine*, and had their *persons* for their holy service in these *Councells*, in which they sate by vertue of their *office*, in an admirable holy and reverent remembrance.

*See the Act of Parliament in* England. 1 Eliz. c. 1.

Tell me truely and in good earnest, would you have me beleeve, that those *first holy Bishops* of *Rome*, who for the first divers hundred yeares lived in *that faith* of *Christ* which we now professe, and signed it with their hearts bloud, as so many glorious *Martyrs* at their deaths were limbes and members of *Antichrist*, when we doe not challenge the then *Bishops* of *Rome* for having

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any thing *Antichristian* in them? Would you have me beleeve that the blessed and glorious Martyr *Saint Cyprian* the holy Bishop of *Carthage*, the Patterne of piety in his life, and a glorious *Martyr* of our Lord at his death; That the two incomparable Lights and Doctors of the Church, *Saint Augustine* Bishop of *Hippo*, and *Saint Ambrose* Bishop of *Millane*, the Compoters of that excellent Hymne, *Te Deum*, which we daily reade and sing in our Churches, the forcible hammers which Christ used for knocking downe of *Pelagius* and other *Antichristian* Heretikes; That the great and invincible *Athanasius* the Archbishop of *Alexandria*, raised up by Christ to be the very ruine of the *Antichristian* Heretikes of his time and who compoted that excellent and admirable *Creed*, which still carries his name, and which upon *set* and *solemne dayes* we say and sing in our Churches; Or that *Saint Iohn Chrysostome* Archbishop of *Constantinople*, the *Bourges*, and the most unparaleld *Preacher* the world ever heard since the dayes of the *Apostles*; Shall I ever give my assent, That these or any of these and thousands other such *Bishops* of the Christian world, shall be miscalled by the names of *limbs* and *members of Antichrist*? Whose names for their zeale to the glory of Christ, and their invincible courage for propagating his name, maugre all opposition, have beene sweet and precious to all the servants of Christ for so many generations past and so farre as my power can contribute shall be so till the second coming of their *Master* and mine; whose writings have more Worth Power and Majesty upon any pious and learned one in their *least Tractates*, then all the illiterate and ignorant lines of those new upstart unsent, and wretched verbalists, who dare call them *Antichristian*, shall be able to operate to the end of the world.

Shall I give my assent that Archbishop *Cranmer*, *Ridley Latimer*, and *others* those first great Instruments of Christs glory for the *reforming* of *this Church*, and purging it from false *Doctrine*; who in opposition of the *Romish* and *Antichristian* Tyranny, laid downe their precious *lives*, and lost their *limbes*, shall now be reputed *limbs* of *Antichrist*? farre be it from me, let my tongue cleave to the roofe of my mouth, before it ever *blaspheme* so foulely those *great Worthies* and *Servants* of the most *high God*,

*God*, who esteemed more the rebukes of Christ then all the preferments and revenewes which they enjoyed: let my soule (if it be Gods will) at last come where the soules of all the *Bishops* above named are, and I am sure that is with Christ; where among the glorious and holy *army of Martyrs* they are now praising him, for that they were thought worthy to suffer any thing for his glorious name: and to that place I am sure no *limb* of *Antichrist* shall ever clime be.

And I desire to know whether you who call *Bishops* limbes of *Antichrist* can name me any of *your Kingdome* or *this*, who have contributed more to the crushing of the *Roman Antichristian* Bishop then our holy and learned *Bishops*, *Iewell*, *Vsher*, *Davenant*, and many besides both dead and living? or then other *Worthies* of *this Church*, who though not *Bishops*, yet living under this *Government*, and approving it, have given the deadliest blowes, and incurable wounds to the *Popish* Doctrines, that ever they received.

And truely here I should deplore that in our *English Bishops*, which some perhaps account their hard fortune, *viz.* That on the *fifth* of *November*, they should have been *blowne up* with Gunpowder, by the *Romish Conspirators*, for being good and sound *Protestants*, and yet now that they must be *blowne* out of the *Kingdome* for being accounted a part of the *Romish* and *Popish Hierarchy*: But I conceive they ought to take this for a good fortune and exceeding joy, that by the *Popish* side they are accounted *Protestants*, and by the *other* side (which I doe not know well by what name to call) they are accounted *Popish*, which to me is a most probable argument, that their *office* is good being opposed by *two* parties, whom we beleeve *both* to be in the wrong.

2. THE *second Proposition* to be debated in the *Declaration*, is this, Whether upon this *pretence* of the *Kings* not giving *consent* to *root* out *Episcopall Government*, or upon suppoſals and pretences of his favouring of *Popery*, or going about to violate the *fundamentall lawes of the Kingdome*, *Priviledges of Parliament*, *the Liberty of the Subiect*, &c. (especially none of these being certaine, but meerely conjecturall and imagined) it be *lawfull* for his *Subiects* in *either Kingdome* to *take armes* against him,

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to deprive *him* of his *Revenewes, Tributes, Customes, Forts, Arms, Ammunition*, and *Ships*, nav, and of the *hearts* of his people, so farre as in them lieth, and to make them *sweare* that they shall *continue* in this Course, till by these *Chastisements* and *Corrections* (as you call them) they shall bring *him* to the yeelding to *all* such things, as *they* shall thinke fit and reasonable to *demand* of him. And here I must confesse that this *position* seemes to me so plainely *repugnant* to the *Precepts* and *Practice* of *Christ* and his *Apostles*, and to the *practice* of the *primitive Christians*, and so downewards ever till the time of Pope *Hildebrand*, that there is nothing laid downe in the *New Testament* next to *credenda*, dogmaticall points, which are to be beleeved, and which concerneth *facienda*, things to be done and practised, more cleerly and perspicuously, then the *contrary Position*, which is this, That upon *no pretence* whatsoever we ought to doe it.

For clearing whereof, let us lay this *maine foundation*, that *Whosoever shall resist the ordinance of God, shall receive to themselves damnation*, which proposition needeth no great proofe, though it were not delivered in the *Text*, considering that since God doth not personally converse with men, but onely in his *Ordinances*, the reverence which he expecteth from man to *himselfe*, he looketh it shall be yeelded to him in his *Ordinances*; As for instance, I suppose no man can shew any reason, why *saving grace* should be conveyed into the soules of men, by the *word* read, preached and applied to the consciences of Gods children, by the *Ministers* of Gods word, who are sinfull men, and why such heavenly treasure should be delivered unto us in such earthen vessels, but onely this, That it is Gods *ordinance*, and that now it hath pleased him, thus to cooperate with that *Ordinance*, rather then to effect it by immediate illumination, inspiration, or revelation. So for the *Sacraments*, why the *Sacrament* of *Baptisme* (as you hold) administred by a *lawfull Minister* of Christ shall have more power, to be the *Sacrament* of *Regeneration* to the baptized, then if it should be performed by any *ordinary* man or woman not authorized or allowed thereunto, or by the *ordinary* sprinkling of water any time else; or that the *Sacrament* of our blessed Saviours most precious *body* and *blood*, administred unto us by a *Minister* of Gods word, first lawfully consecrating Rom. 13. 2.

ſecrating and bleſſing them, ſhould have the *ſpirituall* force, vigour, and grace to nouriſh our ſoules to the hope of everlaſting life, more then any other *ordinary* element of *bread* and *wine*, delivered unto us by any *ordinary* hand, and in any *ordinary* place. I ſuppoſe that no other reaſon can be aſſigned but this, that the *Sacraments* are Gods *ordinances*, and that whereſoever, they are rightly adminiſtred and received, his *ordinances* are alwayes attended with his *operative* vigorous and effectuall bleſſing.

Why multitudes of men ſhould give obedience to *one King* or *Prince*, the reaſon I conceive to be the ſame, becauſe all *ſupreme Government* and authority is the *ordinance* of God ſet down by him for avoyding of confuſion, and that the world *may be godly and quietly and peaceably governed*: And that this *Supreme Magiſtracy* as all others is the *ordinance* of God, it is plaine by *Saint Pauls* words in the place laſtly cited, *Rom.* 13. 2. in the firſt verſe of the Chapter, *The powers that be, are ordained of God*, ſo that they are of Gods ordination: and in the ſecond verſe, *He that reſiſteth them, reſiſteth the ordinance of God.*

Now it is ſufficient for the right ſtating of this queſtion, if it be yeelded and agreed upon, that whereſoever *Monarchy* it ſetled by the *fundamentall lawes* of any *Kingdome*, there it is to be acknowledged to be the *ordinance* of God; and the *Monarch* or *King* of that *Kingdome* is the *lawfull Miniſter* of God, appointed by *him* to execute that *ordinance*; with which power I think no man will deny *our King* to be lawfully inveſted by the *law* of *God* and the *lawes* of his *Kingdomes*.

The queſtion then will onely be this, whether if at any time he ſhall not governe according to theſe *lawes*, hee doth not become *ipſo facto*, or by a *Declaration* of his people, diveſted of that power and ſo ceaſeth to become the *Ordinance* of God. So that whoſoever in this caſe ſhall *reſiſt* him doth not now *reſiſt the ordinance of God*, but a *private* man.

The caſe I thinke will be cleare, if it be well weighed, that in all Gods *Ordinances*, there are ſome things by divine *poſition*, and other things only by divine *permiſſion*; that which is by divine *poſition*, is Gods *Character*, which he hath ſet upon his owne *Officer* and *Miniſter*: That which is by divine *permiſſion*, is the *defects* and *defaults* which many times God ſuffers to be in that

*Miniſter*

*Minister* of his. Now that any *evill* in any of Gods *Ministers* which is but *permissive*, should destroy Gods *ordinance* which is *positive*, is a doctrine which I think hath not been knowne but of late yeares among Schollers in the world: If a *Minister* of Gods word be an evill man can you deny, but that notwithstanding this, his *Ministery* may be *powerfull* and *operative* to salvation, because he hath Gods *Character* imprinted in him by his owne *ordinance*? Doe not we know, that the Carpenters which were drowned in the *deluge* built that *arke* by Gods appointment which saved *Noah* and his family, and all those who by their procreaion filled a new whole world? And doe we not likewise know, that the *Doctors of the law*, who sate in *Moses chaire*, did not live according to the doctrine they tanght and yet *Christ* advised the people of God *to doe as they taught*? Did not *Christ* submit himselfe to *Circumcision*, and his blessed *mother* to *Purification*, and other *Iewish rites*, though they were performed by those who denied him to be the *Messias*? And I pray you to resolve me of this question, If a *lawfull Minister* of either Kingdome, though otherwise an evill man, shall deliver the *holy Communion* to others, whether (if the receivers be rightly fitted and prepared) the *Communion* is not as *lawfully* delivered as if it were done by *Saint Peter*? I suppose it will be answered *affirmatively* and upon this ground, that the *Minister* still continues to be the *Minister of Gods ordinance*, be he never so wicked for his life or weake for his parts.

I desire to be satisfied, why the like shall not hold in a *King*, who is called *Gods Minister*, why the *acts* of his *peace* shall not be accounted the *acts* of the *Minister of God, as being Gods ordinance*, be his person what it will. This was the argument that kept *David* for doing the least hurt to *Saul* when he had him in his power, though *Saul* had quite forsaken God, and for that God had quite forsaken him, and *David* was designed by God himselfe for his successor, onely because *Saul* had beene *anointed* with Gods *holy oyle*, which *David* conceived to be utterly *unlawfull* to *wipe* out.

And now I desire to be satisfied, concerning *Christ* and his *Apostles*, *Precepts*, and *practice* in this point, (for I conceive it to be both cleerely stated, and determined by them,) whether

it be *lawfull* to with-hold *tributes*, *rents*, and *duties* from Princes, and much more, whether it be *lawfull* to take *armes* against them, upon any pretence? The *place* I insist upon is 22 *Chapter* of *Saint Matthew*, beginning at the 21. *Verse*, in which passage it is said, That the *Herodians came to entrap Christ*. Now for the understanding of that, wee must know that about the birth of Christ, when *Augustus* laid that great tax upon the *Roman world*, an imposition not heard of before it bred a great matter of dispute, especially amongst the *Iewes* and the *Romans* who lived amongst them, whether it was *lawfull to pay it or not*, and they came to be divided into two sides or factions; The head of the one was *Iudas of Galilee, who rose in the dayes of the tax*, and he and his party held that it was unjust for the people of God, free borne and the seed of *Abraham* to pay any tribute to an *Idolater*, but it was fitter rather to rise and take *armes* as *Ieroboam* did: most of the *Iewes* that were to pay this *tribute* liked *this doctrine* well and they who seemed to be *zealous* preservers of the *peoples liberties*, were called *Gaulonites*. The head of the other party was *Herod*, who having nothing but what he held by the favour of *Augustus*, maintained, That *all* that the people had was due to *Augustus*, and for what was due to God he cared not at all; he was altogether for the *tax* and they who held with him were called *Herodians*. Now these *Herodians* were they who came to *entrap Christ* and that by this question *Whether it were lawfull to pay tribute unto Cesar?* conceiving that whatsoever his answer was, he must surely be catched, for if he said *no*, then they resolved to seaze upon him as an enemy to *Cesar* and the *Roman* state, and if he said *yea*, then they were sure to set the people on his backe, as an *enemy* to their *liberties* and one who could not be the *Messias* promised, they expecting from their *Messias* full restitution unto *liberty*: To this catching question of the *Herodians* Christ giveth such an answer, as neither pleased *Herodian* nor *Gaulonite*, and yet could justly displease neither, *Give unto Cesar the things which are Cesars, and unto God, those things which are Gods*: thereby telling the *Herodians*, that they were right in this, that *tribute* was due unto *Cæsar*, but wrong in the other, that nothing was due unto *God*, and telling the *Gaulonites*, that they were in at this, that the most was due unto *God*,

Acts 5. 36.

but

but out in the other, that there was nothing due unto *Cæsar*; so that by his answer, he apportionates every mans estate to three severall persons, *Gods* part to *God*, *Cæsars* part to *Cæsar*, and the remainder, (*Gods* and *Cæsars* part being paid) to a mans *owne self* and his disposall: so that now *Cæsars* part is by *Christ* setled upon *Cæsar*, be that part what it will, and *Gods* part upon *God*, and every mans part upon *himself*; so that happy is that *Cæsar* or Magistrate, who doth not invade *Gods part*, and unthankfull if he doe it, since Christ who was God hath secured *his* part; and unhappy are the people, who goe about to invade either *Gods* or *Cæsars* part; which I conceive to be the *two crying crimes* of these times, most gaping for the *Patrimony of the Church*, which is *Gods part*, and many gaping the *Patrimony of the Crown*, which is *Cæsars part*, but the holy Ghost constantly joyneth them together, and *what God hath joyned, let no man separate*. *My sonne feare God and the King: Feare God, honour the King*. Here now you have a plaine *precept*, and not onely so, but a precept intimating, that *Cæsars tribute*, much more his *revenue*, must not be taken as a *gratuity* from his Subjects, and so payable and withholdable at their *pleasure*, but it is a *paying* unto *Cæsar*, that which is his *owne*, it is not simply *Date*, but *Reddite*, *apodote*, as if Christ should say, It is *Cæsars due*, and whereas you aske me, whether we may lawfully pay *tribute* unto *Cæsar*, I say, You not only *may* but *must*, so if you pay it not, you deale unrighteously and unjustly with *Cæsar*. *Prov. 24. 21. 1 Pet. 2. 17.*

You have here his *precept*, not for Christs *practise*, we find, That he himselfe *went to be taxed*, when he was yet in his mothers belly, as *Levi* is said *to pay tithes in his fathers loynes*; this (though it be worthy observation,) yet I confesse was not his owne act, but afterwards when he came to be of full yeares, he paid *tribute*, his *stater*, for which as he told *Peter*, though he might have pleaded exemption, yet *for avoyding of offence, he would needs pay it*, and hee nor none of his company having ever a penny about them, he would pay it by working a miracle, and taking a *stater out of the mouth of a fish*: I hope then Christs *precept* and *practice*, is very different from these times, in which our *Cæsars* Subjects take from him, not onely his *Tributes*, but his *Revenues*, and so they obtrude unto us a *new Gospel*, different from that of Christ. *Luke 2. 5. Heb. 7. 9. Mat. 17. 27.*

not reddite, or apodote, but auferte Cæsari, quæ Cæsaris sunt: not pay or render unto Cæsar, but pay not unto Cæsar, nay, take from Cæsar that which is his due.

Now see the precept and practice of *Saint Paul*, *Rom.* 13. 7. *Render therefore to all their dues, Tribute to whom tribute, Custome to whom custome, &c.* In the *first verse* of that Chapter, its plaine whom he meanes, it is the *Higher powers*, and for this reason, Because they are the *Ministers of* God; and in the *sixth verse, For this cause you pay Tribute also*, so that because of the good we receive by their Ministry, *Tribute* is due to them, and I beseech you to observe *Saint Pauls* words, for in that *seventh Verse*, he doth not onely use Christs word *reddite, apodote* but he addes a higher word, *tas ophelas* your *debts*; so that *Cæsar* may challenge *Tributes* and *Customes* for a *due debt*: and all this wee must doe, though it be a debt, yet cheerfully as if it were none, saith *Saint Paul, For conscience sake*, saith *Saint Peter, For the Lords sake*, and he urgeth *Saint Pauls* very word, Because it is an *Ordinance of man*, meaning, given from God to man, and therefore are we to submit to it: *Whether it be to the King as supreme, or unto Governours, as unto them that are sent by him:* and then it must follow, that wee must pay *Cæsar* his *Rents* and *Tributes* willingly and cheerfully, though he had never a *Pursuivant* to imprison our persons, nor a *Publican* to take a distresse for it.

*Rom.* 13. 5.
1 *Pet.* 2. 13.

But now comes the grand Objection, upon the cleare resolution whereof the Hinge of this Controversie I suppose is moved; If *Cæsar* be the *supreme Magistrate*, he Gods Minister for his glory, and for the good of his people committed to his charge, then nothing which *Christ* and his *Apostles*, *Saint Paul* and *Saint Peter* sayes is due unto him can iustly be with-held from him, but if he goe about to subvert *Gods true Religion*, the *fundamentall Lawes of the Kingdome*, the *liberty of his Subiects persons*, and the *propriety of their goods*, then he ceasing to be *Gods Minister* for the good of his people, his *Tributes* and *Rents* cease to be his *due*, and if he shall still offer to receive them, he may be hindred by force of *Armes*, and be spoyled of all that he hath, for *Arma gerenti omnia dat, qui iusta negat.*

It is at the first sight hard, that a *private Subiect*, if he abuse himselfe, and his estate, shall notwithstanding not lose his estate, but

but in case of *treason*, or in other such cases as the law hath provided: but as a transcendant prerogative, the *King* shall lose his estate in cases, in which the *Subject* shall not lose his: But to the objection, plain men like my selfe are at a stand, as admiring, how men dare propound this objection, *Christ* and his *Apostles* determining the point in question, even for *Prince*, that were as bad, if not worse, as the objection doth or can make them. Who was the *Cæsar*, to whom Christ determined *Tribute* to be due, and to whom he paid it? was it not *Tiberius Cæsar*? I hope ye cannot yet say, that *our King* is any thing like *him*; He subverted the *fundamentall Lawes* of the *Iewish* Common-wealth, and kept it in slavery and servitude: For the *Roman* Republique, he utterly everted the *fundamentall Lawes* of that, and did prostitute against the *lawes* of the *Senate* and *people* of *Rome*, all the offices and dignities of the *Senate*, and the *people* of the Court and Camp to the dispose all of his basest Varlets Panders and Flatterers; For the *Christian Religion*, he was a profest *enemy* to, and *persecuter* of it, a *blasphemer* of the God of the *Christians*, and an *adorer* of *Idolls*: yet our blesse l Lord commanded others to pay, (and did himself pay *Tribute* to this *Cæsar*,) and to give him his *due*, even when *Tiberius* would not give God *his* due, but gave Gods due unto *Idolls*, and even when Christ did know, that by authority of *Tiberius*, he himselfe was to be put to death: The reason was, he did not hold those things due to *Tiberius* but to *Cæsar*, not to his *person* but to his *office*, which was *Gods ordinance*, and which he never waved nor shunned, but submitted himselfe not onely to *Tiberius Cæsar* himselfe, but to his Presidents and Deputies, especially to *Pontius Pilate*, one of them, before whom when he was accused, that he held it *not lawfull to pay Tribute unto him*, he tooke no exception against the allegation, but as a falshood, and left them to prove it; and when *Pilate* the President put this question to him, because of his silence, *Knowest thou not that I have power to crucifie thee, and power to release thee?* he not onely answered, hee acknowledged his power, but that it was derived from God: By which it is plain, he acknowledged a *positive* power in *Pontius Pilate* from *Tiberius Cæsar* to judge him, and that by Gods ordinance derived from God, but that it was only *permissive* by God, that he should give false judgement against him, *Iohn* 19. 10.



that

that so he might die for the sins of the world, according as it is written in the Prophets.

Now next to that *Cæsar* under whom *Christ* lived and suffered, let us see what *Cæsars* they were to whom Saint *Paul* and Saint *Peter* commanded Tribute to be paid, and obedience yeelded, according to the ordinance of God; and they were *Claudius Cæsar*, *Caligula Cæsar*, and *Nero Cæsar*, never one of them better then *Tiberius*, but the latter two much worse. *Froward masters*, as Saint *Peter* tearmes them. They were monsters of men, *Cæsar Caligula* was he, that *wished the people of Rome had but one necke, that he might strike it off at one blow*; *Nero Cæsar* was he who murdered his *owne Mother*, and his excellent Master *Seneca*, he who made the City of *Rome* be set on fire, to make himselfe merry withall at the singing of a song; the utter destroyers of the *liberties*, and the *fundamentall lawes* of the *Roman* Repub'ique; unparaleil'd monsters for lust, luxury, and cruelty; yet both the blessed *Apostles* tooke them for the *Ordinance* of God, and commanded every man *to submit themselves to them*, onely in that regard, not as unto *Caligula* or *Nero*, but as unto *Cæsars*: Nay, and Saint *Paul*, when they were about to beat him with rods, tooke the Priviledge of *Cæsars* protection, and pleaded that he was a *Roman*, which was to be expounded but as *Acts* 22. 3. *Amicus & socius populi Romani*, for *he was borne a Iew at Tarsus in Cilicia*, and by pleading that Priviledge hee saved his backe from the rods; and in another case when hee saw his life in jeopardy, he apealed unto *Nero*, which he would not have done, either for the saving of his backe by pleading the *Roman* priviledge, or for saving of his life by making this appeale, if he had not conceived, that both the pleading of his priviledge and the laying his appeale were just, and just they could not be, unless the Judge were Gods *Ordinance*, and so he might lawfully appeale to him; for it is to be observed in Saint *Paul* through all his *Epistles*, that he was an exemplary respecter of Gods *Ordinance*, in whomsoever he found the Character of it: When hee had spoken something roundly against *Ananias* the high Priest, and called him *a whited wall*, and they that stood by asked him, *Why he did revile the Lords high Priest*, he presently put himselfe to a modest retractation or recantation, *I wist not brethren that he*

1 Pet. 2. 18.

Acts 23. 3.

*he was the high Priest*, and presently alledged a *Text* of Scripture why he should not have given such hard words to the *Lords high Priest*, though both the crime wherewith he charged him, for *commanding him to be stricken against the law*, was true, and the name he gave him for that crime, was no more, then indeed he deserved; yet Saint *Paul* weighing not the injustice and wickedness of his Fact, but the Character of his Place and Gods *Ordinance* in him, that he was the *Lords high Priest*, was sorry for what he had said.

Now (if it could be done briefly) how obvious is it to every man, that hath read the *History* of the *Primitive times*, to see how the *Primitive Christians* for many ages did tread the path of *Christ* and his *Apostles* in this point, praying for the prosperity of the *Emperours*, and the military *Christians* fighting faithfully and couragiously under *their* banners, against their enemies, though those *Emperours* did blaspheme that God, whom their *Christian* subjects and souldiers adored? he that shall deny this, must confesse himselfe to be utterly ignorant in the Christian, and Secular writers of the first ages after Christ.

To this, I foresee some will answer, that in these Primitive times, *Christians* were kept under, and had *no power* to raise forces, and make resistance against these wicked *Cæsars*, else they would have done it; but that now *your party* having power may lawfully doe it. I beseech you even tell me truly, whether *Christ* had not *power* to destroy *Tiberius Cæsar*, who had *power* to strike the living dead, and to raise the dead to life? Had not *Saint Paul* power to have strucke *Caligula* or *Nero* dead, or *Ananias* the high Priest, when *Peter* with the breath of his mouth killed another *Ananias* and his wife? To deny *power* to *Christ* and his *Apostles*, trencheth a little upon *blasphemy*, but their *submitting* of themselves to Gods *Ordinance*, ought to be to us an *examplary* rule of *practice* and *piety*.

And here I desire not to be mistaken, as if *this Cæsar* against whom *you* meane to *fight*, had need to have any such case put for *him*. He is a *Constantius*, or *Theodosius*, the faithfull servant of that God, that *Tiberius* crucified, of that God whom *Caligula* and *Nero*, and their bloudy Successors did persecute in his members, a strong opposer of all *Romish* and *Antichristian* doctrines

and superstitions; for his *life* so exemplary, that he may *non plus* all those that take *armes* against him with this one question, *Which of your wives or daughters have I ravished?* which of you, fathers, brothers sonnes, or husbands, hath my sword devoured? *Whose asses or oxen have I taken?* I thinke that so little reply will be made unto it, that I shall conclude with my prayers for you as for my selfe: I wish to God that I my selfe, and every one of you who doe *fight* against his cause, had but the *feare of God* as truely imprinted in our hearts, and the *zeale* to defend the *Protestant Religion* burning in our soules, and that *holinesse* and *innocency* of life shining in our conversations, with which I am perswaded in my conscience, our common Saviour hath blessed *him* in a very high measure.

And would to God the Subjects of both Kingdomes would warily take heed of the danger which lurketh under this Tenet, That it is lawfull to dispossesse the King of his estate and government, if he be either unable or unworthy: For the *Anabaptists* who in the times of *Charles* the fifth urged this doctrine mainly; staid not there, but when they had got power upon the same ground, dispossessed all Subjects who were not of their side, of their private and personall estates alledging, That it could not consist either by Gods wisedome or justice, that any man because he was the sonne of his father, or a Purchaser by his industry, should possesse great meanes and revenues, when wiser and godlier men then he had lesse; That the heires and purchasers (if they were not on their side) were but unjust usurpers, but they who were the Elect, were the onely true Titularies and Proprietaries; maintaining stoutly and stiffly, That *Dominion*, and *Right*, was not founded in *nature* but in *grace*. Hee who would know but their pranks, let him but reade the Commentaries of that learned and industrious Writer *John Sleidan*, who wrote the Occurrences which fell in the life of *Charles* the fifth, and hee shall find that part of it which concerneth the History of the *Anabaptists* to be almost a Prophecy, but however, a plaine Commentary upon our present troubles. And if that Tenet of the *Anabaptists* which the Divell raised up just in the time of *Luthers* Reformation, had not been strongly and powerfully opposed and suppressed by the *Lutheran* Princes and Divines, certainly

that

that Reformation had been crushed, and abhorred by both sides the Popish party mainly labouring to make the world beleeve that this damnable Tenet had its rise and spring from the *Lutheran* Doctrine, though by Gods gracious providence it fell out, that this Anabaptisticall Doctrine had its ruine and fall from those our first Reformers.

And though the Subjects of *both* Kingdomes who now adhere to *you*, have swallowed this Doctrine of dispoysing & deposing of the King, in the case of unfitnesse or unworthinesse, and deverting the Government into the hands of some of *his* Subjects if they shall be thought more fit and worthy then *he*: yet when some of the bould Anabaptisticall assertors shall come to make the case *your* owne, and shall tell you to your teeth, that upon the same ground which you have already swallowed and sworne to, it followeth by unavoydable consequences, that they must enjoy and possesse your lands and estates, if they be more godly and wise then you (of which they hold themselves being the children of God, and heires, of the promises, to be the sole Judges) you being but usurpers and they the true Titulars; then indeed, finding this to be a bitter pill to swallow, and to stick in your throats, you will curse the Authors and Abettors of the first Assertion, when you find, (that if you make resistance) the second Assertion shall be made good by the cutting of your throats.

And I shall besides, beseech you to consider, whether you be true to the ends you pretend, that is, The advancement of the true reformed *Protestant* Religion, since you have sucked and licked those *Tenets* for which you stand, from the very *lees* and *dregs* of *Popery*, I meane *Iesuitisme*, all other *Papists* for the most part abhorring them: Alas, it it easie to trace the very Lines, Words, and Syllables of *Iesuits*, from whence you have your *Tenets*: Doe you thinke that if the first Christian *Emperours* had beleeved or supposed, that the *Christian* Doctrine and Religion had maintained such a Principle, as that their *Subjects* were bound to turne *them*, or their *successors* out of all they had, for any personall errour in their Religion, or Manners, that they would have been forward to embrace that *Religion*? Wee have now many thousands of our fellow *Christians* living in *Greece*, that hardly draw breath under the *Ottoman* tyranny; if the *grand*

*Seigneur* and his *Visiers* and *Bashaes* did beleeve that they did maintaine this position, That it is lawfull for them whensoever they have power to destroy his *Empire*, doe you thinke that any of their throats would be left uncut? Or doe you think that the propounding of that *Tenet* were a ready way to *convert* Him and his to the *Christian* Religion? I beseech you in the feare of God well to weigh, what an unjust *scandall*, and *obloquy* you bring by these your proceedings, upon the true reformed *Protestant Religion*. Though some men misled, and others wilfully blinded and hard hearted, for their own particular ends, may hold such *tenets*, yet *private* mens *tenets* are not to be held for the *Doctrines* of the *Reformed Church*; We have a good large booke called the *Syntagma* of the *Confessions* of the *Reformed Churches*; next to the word of God, by them may the *Tenets* of the *Reformed Churches* be judged and esteemed. I beseech you shew mee in all these *Confessions* one line or word, tending to the *tenets* for which you resolve to *fight*, for I have read that *Syntagme* oftner then over and over, and yet could never discover any thing to that purpose in it.

These things I desire to be satisfied in the *Dogmaticall* part, before I can admit the *Supposals* expressed in the *Declaration*; but because I am desirous to spare you a second labour, I doe likewise pray you, to give me satisfaction, in the *practicall* part of the *proceedings* of you of *both Kingdomes*, who of late have stood for the *cause* for which you now meane to *fight* for without satisfaction to them likewise, I cannot be brought to admit of the *Supposals* contained in the *Declaration*.

From the many *papers* which have been printed in *both Kingdomes* for *your* side, I have observed the result of them all, to fix it selfe upon these *two* Propositions.

First, That *all your doings are just* and undeniable, without any *ends* of private men, meerly for the *advancement* of the Reformed *Protestant* Religion established in *this Land*, and for the perpetuating of the *Liberties* of the *Parliaments*, *Lawes*, and *Liberties of the Subjects* of these Kingdomes,

The *second* Proposition is this, that whatsoever the *King* hath done, or *now* doth in this *difference* betwixt *Him* and *You* is only by *evill Counsell*, and for the *destruction* of the *Protestant*, and *advancing*

*vancing* the *Popish Religion* in these Kingdomes, and for the *subversion* of the *priviledges of Parliament*, of the *free execution* of the *Lawes*, and of the the *Liberties* and *Proprieties of the Subjects*. especially in this Kingdome of *England*.

Now these *two Propositions*, First of your *owne* upright, and secondly of the *Kings* deceitfull dealing, being of such high concernment, as that upon the beliefe of them, you would have all good Subjects to adhere to *you*, and abandon their *owne King*, one would think that your *reasons* to perswade any mans assent unto them should be so undeniable, and your *proofes* so violent and constringent, that upon the very propounding of them, they should gaine an *assent* from the Reader. But I can find no such matter in them, many times no *Offer* of *proofe* being made at all and at the best but marvellous sleight and conjecturall *presumptions*, grounded many times upon the very uncertaine and groundlesse *Reports* obtruded upon us, which I shall now urge for *your* side as strongly, as my understanding can reach: for I hold it to be the unworthiest part of an ingenious and ingenuous *arguer*, to dissemble the strength of his *adversaries* arguments, and not to advance them to the utmost height which both substance and circumstance in the *answerers* judgement can raise them to.

Out of all yours and their Papers, I find the *First Proposition* branched into these foure severalls. First, that you take armes only for the defence and advancement of the true *Protestant Religion*. 1. Secondly for the defence of the *Kings person* and *Honour*. 2. Thirdly, for the defence of the *Liberties* of *Parliaments* and the *Lawes* of the *Kingdome*. 3. And fourthly, for the defence of the *Liberties* of the *Subjects* persons and propriety of their estates. 4. And now by your late *common Covenant* you sweare to assist the *English* in the defence of these *foure*. I shall briefly survey these *foure* particulars.

You and they doe *first protest*, that your *Armes* are taken for *the defence of the Protestant Religion*, but how it may appeare by your acts and proceedings that you have any such intention, is the point in which many thousands of good Subjects desire to be satisfied: for to their honest and plaine high way understanding, two things to them doe plainely appeare. First, that your proceedings

ceedings are inconsistent with the *doctrine* of the true reformed *Protestant* Religion any where professed: For they desire to know where any of the *Confessions* of the *Protestant* Churches (which is the onely touch-stone whereby their doctrine is to be judged) deliver any such *tenet*, viz. *That it is lawfull for Subjects to take Armes against their Prince, when they shall mislike his Government*? And further they desire to be satisfied, whether your late proceedings have not brought a *scandall* upon the *Protestant* Religion, and taken of a great part of that *just scandall* which lay upon the *Iesuited* part of the *Romish* Religion, you having now gone about to justifie *it* by these your proceedings? For that doctrine of *Subjects carrying Armes lawfully against their Prince*, was till the *Iesuits* lately broched it, little known in the world, and then was mainly opposed, not by *Protestants* onely, but by the learnedst *Papists* living, not *Iesuited*. To spare the instancing of the names of the particular opposers the many censures of the *Vniversity* of *Paris* in generall, and of the *Colledge* of the *Sorbon* in particular, but especially the many *Arrests* and *Decrees* of the *Court* of *Parliament* of *Paris*, and the other *Courts* of *Parliament* of *France*, condemning the *Bookes* of the *Authors* of this *Tenet*, (not sparing *Cardinalls*) to be *burnt* by the *hands of the publique hangman*, do sufficiently declare in what detestation the *Papists* not *Iesuited* have held this doctrine. And therefore, (we plain meaning *Protestants*) cannot apprehend how these proceedings should advance the *Protestant* Religion, which wee conceive may draw all *Christian Kings and Princes* out of love with *it*. And out of question it would doe so, if they did not conceive it to be the *Error* only of *some Protestants*, but not the erronious *Doctrine* of the *Protestant Religion*. And if the feare of God and love of the true reformed Religion, were not radically grounded in the heart of our gracious *Soveraigne*, we cannot see how any so probable wayes could have been invented to make him out of love with it, as these courses which ye have taken: But we hope that God will ever so keep open his *Majesties* eyes, that hee shall be both able and willing, to discerne betweene your *particular Errours*, and the *Truth* of the *Reformed Religion*.

Besides, I desire to be satisfied, how your proceedings can stand with

with the reformed *Protestant* Religion, as it stands now establi-shed in *this Kingdome* by the *Lawes* of the same. Since the beginning of this Parliament, *The great Church Bible* it selfe containing the very Text, and *The Service Booke*, containing for the most part the words of the sacred Text have been torn in pieces; The *Garments* estab ished by the *law* of the land disgracefully and riotously rent; Men set up and allowed to *preach*, that never learned nor had any *Orders* from the *Church* of *England*; and many times no doubt when the *Service Booke* was torne, the *Act of Parliament* prefixed to it, and by which it was established, was torne likewise. And could any of these things be done without rearing in pieces the *Lawes* of the Land, which were made for the establishing of the *reformed* and *Protestant* Religion? Now all these things being endured by the *Protesters*, without any ordinary punishment inflicted upon the *offenders*; you cannot make it sinke into our heads, that the *Protesters* did or doe intend the advancement of the *Protestant* Religion, as it is established in this *Land*, when the *Service Booke*, framed by the blessed *Martyrs of our Church*, established by the *Lawes* of our Land yet unrepealed and attested from *Heaven* by so many yeares continuance of the unparalell'd blessings of Religion, Peace, and a happy Government, shall be suffered without any punishment to be violated and disgraced by a company of ignorant and wretched Varlets.

The putport of your *Second Protestation* is, The safety of the *Kings person and honour*; and here I confesse I have ever found my selfe at a losse, and in a perpetuall amazement and astonishment, why men that are Christians should call God so oft to witnesse for their intention in this point: for I who am taught to beleeve my owne sense and undeniable reason, cannot apprehend how the *King's* being forced from the *Parliament* out of his *owne house* by a just and necessary *feare of tumults* yet *unpunished*, can sort to that end; or the *raising* a great and puissant *Army* against the *King*, before *he* had *any Army*, it being well knowne, that while the *King* was yet at *Yorke*, he had none but *guards* about him, and those hardly strong enough for the securing of *His Owne* and *Childrens persons*, while the *Parliaments Army* was under their *Collours*, and in *pay*; How *fighting* against the *Kings*



*person*

*perſon* and his *Army*, can conduce to the *ſafety* of his perſon; how the *ſeizing* of all his *Ships*, *Forts*, *Armes*, *Cuſtomes* and *Revennes*, can tend to the *ſupport* of his *Eſtate*; and how the ſuffering his *Mareſties perſon* to be *traiterouſly reviled* in *printed Pamphlets*, in the *Prayers* and *Preachings* of miſerable ignorant *wretches*, without any controlement or puniſhment inflicted upon the *offenders*, by thoſe who have *now* all the power over them in their owne hands; How to deliver the *King* both to his owne Subjects at home, and to all Nations abroad, for ſuch a *Wolfe* as would devoure his *owne flocke*, by poyſenning their *ſoules* in bringing in the *Popiſh* Religion, and deſtroying their *bodies* and *fortunes* by raiſing an *Army* againſt his Subjects in *Ireland*, and having deſtroyed them, with the ſame Army to doe the like execution upon his Subjects in *England*, all which are fully ſet forth in the Declaration and Proteſtation, ſet forth in the name of both houſes of *Parliament*, bearing date the 22. of *October*, 1642. How all theſe, or any of theſe can perſwade any man, (who hath not reſigned up his underſtanding) that they either probably or poſſibly can conduce to the ſupport of the *Kings eſtate and honour*, is ſuch a *Riddle* to ſuch vulgar underſtandings as mine, that without the invention of new *Moods* and *Figures*, they cannot certainely be *concluded* by any uſuall inferences or deductions, wherewith the world hath yet been acquainted.

And if it ſhould be ſaid, that all theſe particulars have beene intended for the *Kings* good; certainly it may be for the good of his *ſoule*, that by theſe vexations and croſſes, they may draw him nearer to God, and ſetling of his confidence upon him, and not upon any Mortall men, (ſuch as theſe his carefull and untruſty Subjects,) but how they ſhould conduce to the ſafety of his *perſon*, and the ſupport of his *eſtate* and *dignity* is paſt imagination. Many a man being brought to an ignominious death, hath been by his repentance brought neerer to God, but I doe ſuppoſe never any man apprehended that ignominious *death* to ſort with the preſervation of his *life*, or of his *eſtate* and *honour*, which they who ſtand for the Cauſe, pretend to be one of their principall aimes.

The *thing Proteſted* to be in their intentions, is the defence

fence of the *Priviledges* and *liberties of the Parliament*, which I confesse ought to be defended with the life and fortune of every good Subject; but then it must be carefully looked into, that you doe not put upon the Subject a new acception of the word (*Parliament*) repugnant to that notion, in which all the *Acts of Parliament* themselves do deliver the true meaning of that word; And these *Acts* doe deliver unto us *an English Parliament* to consist of *two Houses* and *one King* or *Head* over them, so that without the consent of the *King* no Subject of *England* can conceive himselfe to be tyed by any *Act* of the *Two Houses*: For that word *Ordinance* of Parliament, or of *both Houses* of Parliament, is a word wherewith the Subject hath not beene acquainted, but since you resolved to try it out with Guns. Now let us examine how the proceedings of the *Protesters* have conduced to the preservation of the *Priviledges* or *Liberties* of *These*, severally or joyntly.

First, whether have the members of *the house of Commons* been suffered to deliver their voyces without *feare* and *terrour*? If any of them have disagreed from the sense of the *Protesters*, have they not been *threatned* and *possed up*, and pointed out as sheep for the slaughter, by the *butcherly Multitude*, whensoever they should come in, (or as some thinke) should be called in? For *the house of the Lords*, have not the *names* of those *Lords* bin required who dissented from the rest? have they not been *threatned*, and some of them had their hands torne from about their necks by the *Multitude*, so that they durst not appeare for feare of these barbarous tumults? Were not the *Bishops* so *barbarously threatned* before they were Voted out of the House, that they durst not appeare without the certaine danger of their lives? and when they tendered their *Protestation*, were they not presently by *the House of Commons* accused of *high Treason*, meerly to void their persons and *voyces* out of the House? because it is certainly known, that men must needs be committed, when they are so accused. But we plaine meaning men cannot yet be perswaded, that they who accused them of *treason* had the least suspicion that the *Bishops* either were, or possibly could be guilty of *treason*, for any thing conteined in their *transmissary accusation*, since afterwards the *Lords* were graciously pleased to set them

at liberty upon *Bayle*: And I would gladly be satisfied, whether ever it were heard by any *Law* of the *Realme*, that any *Subject of England*, found guilty by a Grand-jury of *high treason*, was ever admitted to *Bayle*? By which I conceive that neither *the house of Commons*, nor the honourable *house of Lords*, did think them guilty of *treason*; but the *end* was obtained, their *imprisonment*, and so *the voyding the house*, whileſt they lay under that heavy accuſation.

Now for the *King*, that *his dignity* and *priviledge* hath not been preſerved as hath beene pretended, I thinke few men will doubt.

For now it goeth currant as an *Axiome*, That an *Ordinance* not of *the Parliament*, but of *the two Houſes* of *Parliament* obligeth the *Subject*, and then what uſe is there of the *Kings aſſent* at all? For ſay they, if *one* diſagree from the *greater number* aſſembled in *both Houſes*, why ſhould not the *Subject* be obliged by the *more part*, and not ſtand upon the *Kings aſſent*, who is but *One*? But I then humbly beſeech the *Lords of the upper Houſe* to conſider how deeply this poore argument trencheth upon *them*, for by that ſame inference it muſt follow, that if *the Houſe of Commons*, who exceed *them* in number, conclude any thing, their *Lordſhips* who are ſewer in number muſt be concluded by that Vote.

But I deſire to have a cleare ſatisfaction to this one queſtion; You that have *vowed* and *proteſted* publiquely, that your deſire and intention is to make *our King*, and ſo to tranſmit him to poſterity, *one of the moſt glorious Kings in the Chriſtian world*, and yet doe hold that an *Ordinance* of *both Houſes* doe oblige his *Subjects* of this *Kingdome* without *his* conſent, how by this your *tenet*, you doe not make *him* leſſe then *both Houſes* of *Parliament*, or indeed no greater then *any Member* in *either Houſe*? Leſſe you muſt make *him* then either Houſe, becauſe to either Houſe you allow a *Negative voyce*, but not to *him*; and I deſire to know wherein you make *him* greater then any Member of either Houſe? You will ſay that *his* conſent ſhall be asked, and ſo ſhall the voyce of *any Member* of either Houſe; if *he* doe not give his conſent, yet notwithſtanding it ſhall paſſe for a Vote of either Houſe, and ſo it ſhall though any Member of either Houſe refuſe, if it paſſe by the *Major part* of voyces; ſo that I deſire

to

to be satisfied in this particular, what more power the *King* hath by your *tenet*, for matter of *vote*, in a *Parliament* once called by *him*, then the meaneſt *Burgeſſe* of the pooreſt incorporation in *England*?

The *laſt Propoſition*, which the *Proteſters* in all their printed Papers woul'd have us to beleeve is, That the courſes which they purſue, are in defence & preſervation of *the liberty of the Subjects perſons*, and the *proprieties of their eſtates*; and how your acts doe juſtifie your intention in this point, I thinke it is paſt all underſtanding, unleſſe that the fulneſſe of *priſons* with his Majeſties Subjects that will not beleeve you, and the *ſeaſing* of all their *eſtates* for your uſe, and the laying on of *impoſitions* and *exciſes* upon all his Majeſties Subjects, whether they beleeve you or not, and all theſe againſt the *knowne lawes of the land*, may conduce to this laſt end, ſo often proteſted to be intended by you. 4.

The *Second* Thing that they who ſtand for your ſide, have gone about to make the world beleeve is, That as all which *you* pretend is *true*, ſo all that his *Majeſty* hath pretended is *falſe*: As firſt, that whatſoever he pretendeth yet he intendeth to bring in *Popery*, and why? Becauſe he hath ſome *Papiſts* in his Army, and I pray you who began that? Is it not well knowne that there were many *Papiſts* in the *Engliſh Army* who ſided with *you*, before there were any in the *Kings*? are not the *Papiſts* by the law of *England* bound to defend the *Kings* perſon, as well as the *Proteſtants*? Did King *Henry the fourth* of *France* refuſe the juſt aid of his *own Subjects* who were *Papiſts*, for his juſt defence, when he was yet a *Proteſtant*? Was the *Army* of *Queene Elizabeth* of ever bleſſed memory, which ſhe had in *Ireland*, ever called or counted *Popiſh*, becauſe the *Earle of Clanrickard*, and many more of her owne Subjects *all Papiſts* fought (as it was their duty) in her *Army* againſt the *Rebells*? Had not now the *Earle of Saint Albones Sonne* a command in this late *Army* ſent over againſt the *Rebells*, and that by the authority of *both Houſes of Parliament*? I would then be ſatisfied why any of the *Kings Subjects* for being *Papiſts* ſhall be freed from fighting for their *King*? 2.

Secondly, you will ſay that his Majeſty hath made peace with the late *Iriſh Rebells*; One would wonder, whether this be ſaid in good earneſt? Who, I beſeech you, is not onely the occaſion,

but the very cauſe of it? Would you have his Majeſty to ſuffer his true and loyall Subjects to be deſtroyed by them? Had his Majeſty left him any meanes for their protection, either to pay his Army or to provide victuall for them, to keep them from ſtarving? How came his Majeſties and your Army to that exigence? was it not by your ſide, who imployed the great ſums of money granted by Act of Parliament, and other immenſe contributions for the maintenance of that Army, to the raiſing and keeping of forces here againſt the *King*? This truth is written with ſuch a cleere ray of the Sun, that none, unleſſe they be wilfully blinded, not only may, but muſt reade and acknowledge it. To ſay no more of this, it is a witting and willing Solleciſme to give his *Majeſties Army* a denomination of *Popiſh*, becauſe ſome *few Papiſts* are in it, when it is well knowne, that there be *many thouſands* in it, and for it, who will be content to ſhed their hearts bloud for the defence of the *Proteſtant* Religion in oppoſition to the *Popiſh*.

Then upon the whole matter the concluſion will be this; If it be unlawfull for you to deſtroy the *Church Government* eſtabliſhed by the lawes of *England*: Or if it be unlawfull upon that pretence, or any other pretence whatſoever *to take armes againſt your Soveraigne*, (as I have proved it to be moſt unlawfull,) It muſt of neceſſity follow, that you are bound in *conſcience* not to performe *that*, which you have *ſworne* in your late *Covenant* (for all *Oathes* unlawfully taken are unlawfully kept,) and nothing could bind your *conſcience* for the *taking* of it, and nothing can bind your *conſcience* for the *keeping* of it, but onely the *word of God*, in which you find no grounds for theſe *tenets*.

All the *Suppoſall's* therefore in your *Declaration*, are meerely begged and no wayes to be granted as being yet deſtitute of any juſt proofe or reaſons. I will briefly run them over.

FIrſt the *Title* of it, *The Declaration of the Kingdome of Scotland*. How that can be called *the Declaration of a Kingdome*, where the *King himſelfe* doth *not declare*, I apprehend not, I ſhould allow of ſuch a Phraſe in *Republiques* as a *Declaration* of the *Republique* and *Senate of Venice*, or a *Declaration* of the *States of the united Provinces*, where there is *no King*; But a *Declaration* made

made in a *Kingdome* without the consent of *the King* and *against his liking*, may rather be called the *King his Doome*, or *sentence of Deposition*, then any *Declaration of the Kingdome*.

To the *first Section*, If the two first Propositions be true which I conceive to be fully proved by me, we must suppose, that the Christian world knowes no such thing as you averre, but the contrary. That *these* who have raised all these stirs on *your* side, are *Malignants*, and that *God hath given them up to incurable blindnesse, and hardnesse of heart, and that they have been all the while fighters against God*, that your *meane designe and project must fall out to be* against *the* Protestant *Religion*, *and that the* Kings *armies and forces have beene and are in* defence *of it*. 1.

To the *second Proposition*, *You ought to take no* comfort *for your proceedings mentioned in it, but aske God mercy for them*, *as being unlawfull*; And that they we e no waies *his Majesties honour and the good of his people*: And that they were not *The prevalent counsells of the* Popish, Prelaticall, *and* Malignant *party* who opposed you, but the counsells of the *best Subjects*, and *best Protestants* his Majesty hath in all his Dominions. 2.

To the *third Section*, The *Convention* of the *States* which you mention, as is conceived, could conclude nothing, to which his Majesty did not give his *consent*, and therefore we are not to suppose that whatsoever you *determined* there, can *bind* you or any of his Majesties Subjects. And for the *treacherous attempts* mentioned by you, till we heare them proved, we are not bound to beleeve them, but if they be true, God forbid but that the contrivers of them should undergoe condigne punishment. 3.

To the *fourth Section*, We crave leave to conceive, that *neither Kingdome* can enter into such a *Covenant* as you mention, without his Majesties *consent*, and that all such *Covenants* and confederacies, are *conspiracies against the Lords anointed*, and so against the *word of God*; And for that *answer* which you expect from heaven in the *approbation* of it, till we be made acquainted with it, give us leave to suspend our judgement. *And for the new world of joy and peace you expect* they are words, which are commonly in the mouthes of the *Enthusiasts*, and drawne from the words of Scripture misunderstood and misapplyed by them. 4.

To the *fifth Section*, Wee conceive that *you* who are taking 5.

Armes

Armes, *are the ſonnes of defection and contention*, and as it is in the end of this Section, *Whether you be the haters of your brethren, againſt Chriſtian and common charity*; *The haters of your ſelves and your poſterity, againſt the law and light of nature*; *The haters of the* King *and his* Kingdomes, *againſt loyalty and comon duty*; *and haters of* God, *againſt all Religion and peace*; we muſt leave it to the judgement of others.

6. To the *ſixth Section*, We beleeve, that muſt be the ſtate of the Queſtion, for if it be *unlawfull* for *you to take Armes againſt your King*, it is not all your *brethren of Englands invitation*, or calling for help that can make it *lawfull*: And ſo we joyne with you in your Prayer, *The Lord ſave* you *from the curſe of Meroz, ſince you come not up to help the Lord*, nor *his Anointed, but come up to help the mighty againſt him*. And we are confident, that theſe Weapons and Armes in your hands cannot be intended, *To poſſeſſe your brethren in the liberty of the Kingdome of Chriſt*, which by theſe *Armes* we thinke you goe about to overthrow.

7. To the *ſeventh Section*, We ſay it is without all queſtion, that you *intend* to enter with *Armes* into *England* againſt your *King*, and whatſoever intelligence you have from *forraigne Churches*, we know no *forraigne Church*, eſpecially *Proteſtants*, who hold it *lawfull* for you to enter with *Armes* into *England*, upon any of the aforeſaid Pretences: ſure we find no ſuch *Doctrine* Regiſtred in any of their *Confeſſions*; And all your *feares* mentioned in this *Section*, wee conceive to be *groundleſſe*, and ſo either *falſe* or *frivolous*.

8. To the *eighth Section*, We conceive it *unlawfull* for *you* to come to be *Arbitrators* betweene the *King* and his *people here*, unleſſe both parties will admit you and ſtand to your *arbitration*; But I pray you, doth it not deſtroy the *nature of Arbitrators* to make themſelves ſo whether the parties will or not; and we deſire to know in good earneſt, whether you doe not meane to joyne your *Armes* with *one* ſide, and whether *both of you* doe not intend that the *King*, who is the *one* ſide, ſhall ſtand to *your arbitrament*? And if this be not *compulſion* and *force*, rather then *arbitration*, I ſhall leave it to your ſelves.

9. To *the laſt Section*, Certainly we cannot but admire at ſomething expreſſed in it, as firſt, *That your Covenant ſo ſolemnely*

*taky*

*taken in England, is countenanced there already with marvellous successe from heaven:* Truely, we are perswaded to, and know the contrary, however we who thinke your proceedings unwarrantable, shall pray to God, that *they* who take *Armes* against *our gracious Soveraigne*, may never have better *successe*, then they had since your late *Covenant* was *sworne* in *England*. And whereas you affirme, *That your Propositions and Articles of the Treaty are with wonderfull unanimity concluded in both Houses of Parliament*, we can conceive it no great *unanimity*, where there was not present above the *fourth part* of the *House of Commons*, and not the *tenth part* and perhaps much lesse of the *House of Lords*. You call the *Irish*, *Rebells*, They were indeed so while they continued in *Rebellion* against their *King*: But some will wonder why *you* should call them by *that name*: for what Act of *Rebellion* have they committed in *Ireland* against his *Majesty* and his good Subjects *there*, which *you* with your *Army* doe not intend to commit against his *Majesty* and his good Subjects *here*? And if so, why they should be called more *Rebells* then *you*, or *you* lesse then *they*, is a question which men thinke may justly be asked; for *facinus quos inquinat aequat*.

And we conceive that things standing so your *Conclusion* or *Peroration* ought to be turned the quite contrary way; *That all true hearted Scottish Subjects are bound in conscience not to joyne with you in so bad a cause, but to joyne with their owne native and religious Soveraigne, in the defence of the true Protestant and Reformed Religion*, which your Courtes threaten with utter ruine and destruction, if God in his mercy towards the reformed Religion, doe not prevent or hinder them. And for *publishing* this your *Declaration* both in *English* and *Latin*; There be many wise men who thinke you should doe *your Countrey* more right to *conceale* it, they being confident that the *Reformed Churches* will greatly grieve for the unnecessary and unjust *scandall* which by it (as farre as in you lieth) you throw upon the *true* Protestant *Reformed Religion*.

And now, I shall not here dissemble, that since the beginning of these troubles, though you and that side have *said much*, yet you have *proved little*, and though *much* hath beene *said against you*, yet you have *answered little*: for truely Schollars thinke, that you

have not yet answered the first things written against you by the *Divines of Aberdene*; And I doe expect that for desiring satisfaction to my conscience from you, I shall not be accounted an incendiary, *nor your enemy, because I speake the truth. Gal. 4. 16.* since I protest before God, I would willingly have all the bloud in my body exhausted if I thought it were able to extinguish the least sparke of dissention of this unnaturall fire, raised amongst us who are brethren both by the first and second birth: But you must not expect, that we will lightly suffer the *Tenets* of the *Iesuits* and other *Papists* to be put upon us, under *pretence* of opposition of the *Popish Religion*: For what greater *Tenet* in that Church doe we oppose, then the groundlesse opinion of their *infallibility*? Doe not therefore thinke that because you have *sworne* your intentions in your *Covenant*, and published them in your *Declarations*, that therefore I am bound to allow of them by any such authority, if it be not grounded upon reason, and good grounds of Divinity: And certainly there be some who imagine, that your *Covenant* lookes, as if it were obtruded upon them like a *Text*: else they thinke, you would never have suffered that *Analyticall man* of *Essex* to set forth such an *Analysis* upon it, as if it were a *Chapter* of *the New Testament*; for never did *Piscator* nor any other take more paines to *Analyze* any *Chapter*, then he hath done to *Analize* your *Covenant*, though with great disparity of successe, for he hath disgraced the *Text* of your *Covenant* by miserable, not onely mincing but grating of it, and dissecting of it to invisible and almost indivisible Atoms. And yet it seemeth he hath a little more skill in the *Prior* then *Posterior Analyticks*, which are *Aristotle's* two Bookes of Demonstration: For to demonstrate that your proceedings are not against the *King*, he hath found out a strange Crotchet that the *King* and the *Two Houses of Parliament* can never be parted, though *Charles Stuart*, and *they* may be: Verily a sublime subtility: I wonder then why the *Earle of Essex* sent word to the *King*, to get him out of the field at *the Battle of Edge-hill* when he knew *him* then to be sitting in the *Parliament* at *London*, and did not send only to *Charles Stuart*? Or why divers of the *Commissioners of both Houses* at severall times, have be ne sent to the *King* at *Oxford* with Petitions, bearing this inscription, *To the Kings most excellent*

*excellent Majesty*, when they left the *King* sitting in *the houses of Parliament* at *Westminster*, and did not rather send him a Letter with such an inscription as this, *To our High and Honourable friend, Charles Stuart.* Will you suffer the *Analysis* of your *Covenant* to be stuffed with such fooleries?

But leaving them, I desire that the people of God, may not be *seduced* by that argument of *good successe*; For then the victories of the *Mahumetans*, the *Saracens*, and the *Gothes*, and *Vandalls* against the *Christians* might be strongly enforced against the *Truth* of the *Christian Religion*: Though I contesse in this point, the *advantage* lies much upon the *Kings side* in this Kingdome, For whatsoever the *Printed Pamphlets* talke of the *other sides successe* and *victories*, certainly it is to me a wonder, and an amazement, That *our gracious Soveraigne*, being deprived of his Ships, Forts, Customes, Revenues, Armes, and Ammunition, and so left without any money to pay an Army, nay, and robbed (as farre as it lay in some mens power) of the hearts of his Subjects, yet hee should have the better against that party who had all these things flowing in full tides at their own pleasure; This would be made such an Argument of *successe* on the *other side*, as that it would find almost the *faith* of a *miracle*.

The truth is, and let it be the end of all, That the *Cause* of the Lords Anointed our *gracious Soveraigne*, is *Gods Cause*, against which you fight, if you continue this ungodly and unnaturall Warre.

Now the God of *Peace* send us *Peace*, and such a *Peace* as may consist with the *Truth* of his Worship, and *Loyalty* to his deare servant, our *Soveraigne*, *Amen*.

*FINIS.*

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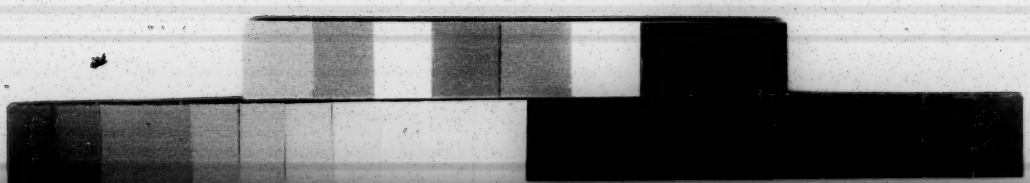
Errata,

Pag. 17. *line* 6. for *Prince* read *Princes*. Pag. 19. l. 35. for *Constantius* read *Constantine*. Pag. 20. li. 28. for *by* read *with*. pag 31. ll. 15. read *no wages for his Majesties*